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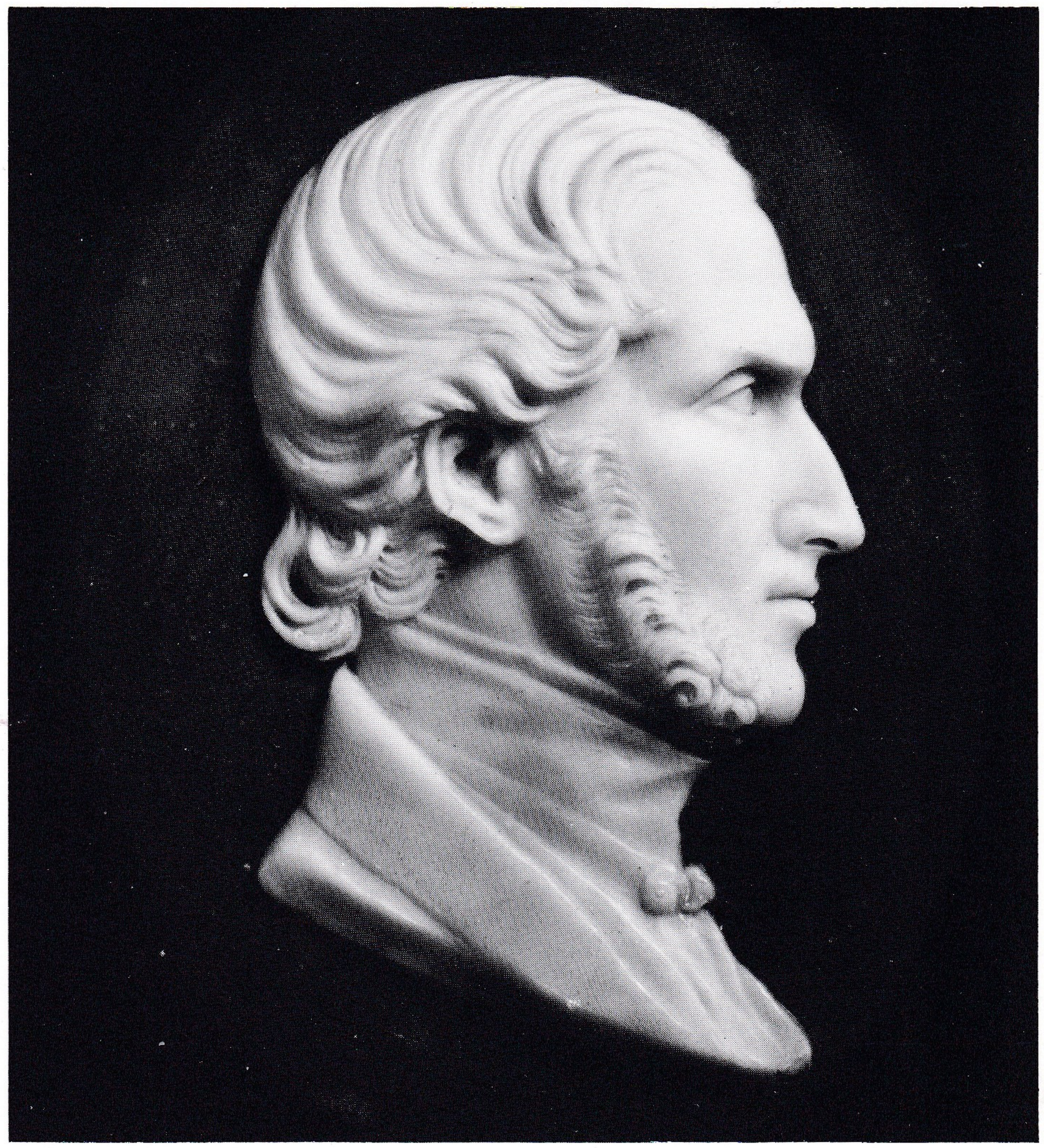
Sir Frederic Madden and Portsmouth



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City of Portsmouth 1987

An extended version of a paper read to an invited audience on 4 March 1985 at the opening of the 'Sir Frederic Madden and Portsmouth' exhibition, organized to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Portsmouth City Records Office.

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SIR FREDERIC MADDEN AND PORTSMOUTH

John Webb, MA, FRHistS

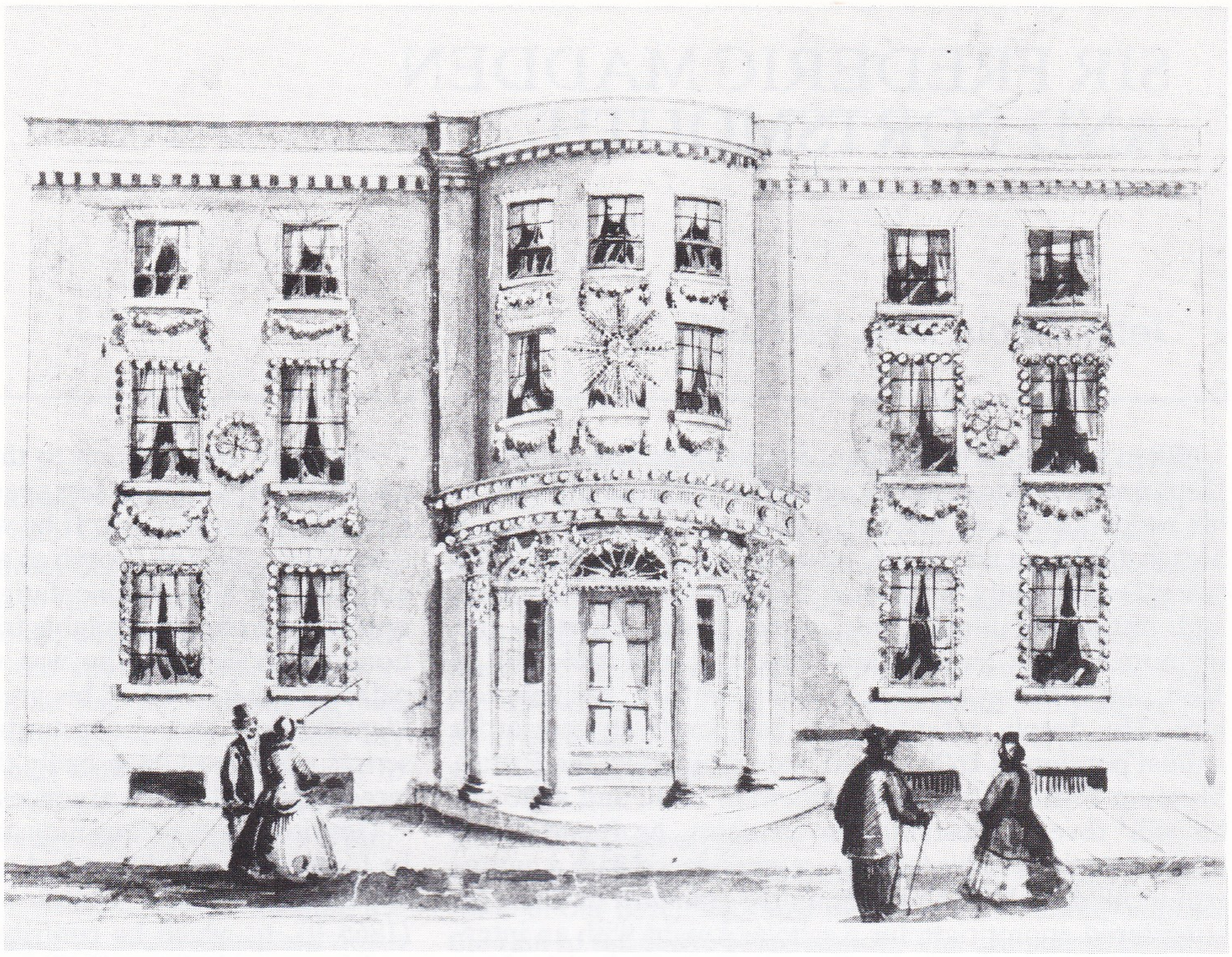
When Sir Frederic Madden, for 29 years Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, died at his residence, 25 St Stephen's Square, Paddington, on 8 March 1873,[1] he was a sad, frustrated and bitter man. His second wife, Emily Sarah, had finally succumbed to a long and distressing illness only three weeks earlier,[2] and memories of the tragic death of his first wife and baby in 1830, and of his favourite son George in 1865, still haunted him. He deeply resented the comparatively niggardly annual pension of £600 he had been granted by the British Museum Trustees on his retirement in 1866, and although his will[3] reveals substantial investments, he found it difficult, especially in his later years when faced with a mountain of medical bills, to maintain the standard of living he considered appropriate for a scholar-knight with an international reputation. A handsome, distinguished looking man, with a noble profile seen to best advantage in portraits of him in early midle age, he had always been something of a dandy, fond of female society, and as much at home in the beau monde as in a library or lecture theatre.

Cantankerous, quick to take offence and slow to forgive, Madden was never an easy person to befriend or with whom to work amicably. He had been deeply wounded in 1856 by the appointment to the post of Principal Librarian (i.e. Museum Director) of the Italian-born, naturalized ex-lawyer and political refugee, Antonio Panizzi, his junior in length of service, who had been Keeper of the Department of Printed Books since 1837.[4] An initial uneasy tolerance of the foreigner had burgeoned over the years into unremitting hatred, and against his superior he had waged a prolonged campaign of obstruction and disaffection among the cabinets and bookstacks. To Madden, Panizzi was 'my malignant enemy' and 'this monstrous idol', and once, when gazing at his rival's photograph, described him as looking 'much like a gorilla made sick by a surfeit of pumpkins'. Because of his hostility and jealousy, he refused latterly to communicate with his arch-enemy except through a third party.[5] He would have been particularly incensed had he known that history would judge Panizzi generously. Called by his biographer the 'prince of librarians', he was a brilliant organizer and reformer, which Madden never was, and had enthusiastically fostered the plan to construct the circular Reading Room with its vast ribbed dome which is now at the heart of the British Library and its most distinctive feature.[6] By the time of his retirement, Madden was almost totally unhinged by his all-consuming hatred of Panizzi and the Trustees who seemed to pander to him. On the last day of his service he wrote of the latter's ingratitude, and added that he quit his duties 'with a deep curse on the unscrupulous, lying, scheming, Italian villain, by whose enmity my official life has been embittered so many years'.[7]

Madden's contribution to the development of the British Museum, although less spectacular than Panizzi's, was nevertheless significant. If he was not at his best in a managerial role, he was superb as a practical archivist. Conscientious, painstaking, indefatigable in his efforts to build up and make freely available to scholars the various collections in his custody, he was virtually without rival as a palaeographer. One of his greatest achievements was the identification and reconstitution of the Cotton Manuscripts which had been badly damaged by fire in 1731 and largely ignored by his predecessor.

Despite the ferocious industry of his professional work, he found time to edit several major texts, including *Havelok the Dane* (1828), Matthew Paris's *Historia Anglorum* (1866–9), to which he contributed an important preface, and Layamon's *Brut* (1847), which has been described as 'one of the great scholarly achievements of the century' because of the soundness of the translation and 'almost faultless editing'. He was most proud of the magnificent edition in four large volumes of Wycliffe's Bible (1850), a project which he undertook in collaboration with the Revd Josiah Forshall (1795–1863), his predecessor as Keeper of Manuscripts and fellow Panizzi-hater. For more than 21 years, Madden, the more hard-working of the two, submitted himself to the tedious task of studying and collating the great majority of the 170 manuscripts used in the preparation of the final text. 'He possessed a prodigious fund of precise learning,' wrote Robert and Gretchen Ackerman in their biographical sketch, 'and, in his impeccable presentation of Middle English and Latin texts, he may fairly be said to have set the canons of what we regard today as responsible editorial scholarship.'[8]

The road to international renown which ended in 1873 had begun at 31 St Thomas's Street, Portsmouth, on 16 February 1801, when Frederic had been born, the seventh son of Sarah, the wife of William John Madden, a captain in the Royal Marines on half-pay who, several years earlier, had used his experience as a paymaster to set up a private agency to deal with the financial affairs of his fellow officers. Although of good stock and ever conscious of his gentility, Frederic, as a comparatively penurious junior member of a large family, had limited expectations. When he left school at the end of 1818 with a sound basic knowledge of the classics, an intense love of the past which he later attributed in part to ready access at an early age to the works of Horace Walpole in his father's library, and an insatiable appetite for all matters intellectual, there seemed to be little scope for his talents in Portsmouth. For five years he was forced to live at home with no regular income, restless and intensely ambitious, becoming increasingly despondent.[9] In October 1823, aged 22 and un-



— Diary &c. —

(Page 1

Friday

Jany 1st 819. Rose at ½ past 9. — After breakfast read & translated verbatim part of the 6th Chap: of Gen: from the Hebrew. — Wrote a letter to Mr Allen in reply to one received (see Letters for 1819.) — Went to my Sister's Mrs Jacksons — read a part of a novel entitled "Convictions" — stupid enough. — was introduced to Capt. Newcombe of the Navy. — took a walk with Maria round Southsea — along return went to Clara's again — read a part of 2nd Vol. of St Pierre's "Etudes de la Nature" — Capt Jackson & Clara, & Capt Dickenson R.N. dined with us to day. After dinner, played Backgammon with Clara — beat her. — played a game of Chess with Emma — [illegible]

2nd — Rose at ½ past 10. — Read in the course of the day the following items. — 1st finished the 2nd Vol. of St. Pierre 2. the article "Music" in the Encyclo: Britt. 3. the beginning of Campbell's Lives of the Admirals Vol. 1 — Wrote an answer to Mr Allen (See Letters)

3rd Sunday — Went twice to Church: in the morning (St Thomas's) heard Mr C. Grenville & in afternoon Mr Morgan chaplain of y Rochefort. — Between the Services I walked out with Maria & the Miss Drummonds to Southsea Castle. — Began in the Evening to read Faber on the Prophecies, 2 vol. 8vo. —

4th. — walked out in the afternoon with y Drummonds — read "Etudes de la Nature", drank tea with the Jacksons. —

5th — had a sore lip, so did not go out — read St. Pierre. The Jacksons drank tea with us — played sixpenny whist after tea — won 3/6 —

Madden's birthplace, 31 St Thomas's Street, en fête at the time of the French fleet's visit to Portsmouth, August 1865. Sir Frederic's father bought the house in 1800 for £3,000 and it remained the family home until 1833.
Portsmouth City Records Office

The first entries in Madden's earliest regular journal, January 1819
Bodleian Library (MS. Eng. hist. c 140)

aware that his luck was about to change, he wrote in desperation to a family friend, complaining bitterly that 'as my father does not appear to have formed the slightest plan, or has not even hinted to me his wish of seeing me in any profession, it is with the greatest regret I find myself . . . without a hope of ever obtaining an independence'.[10]

In *Hampshire Studies* it has already been shown how, as a teenager in Portsmouth, Madden had had the good fortune to befriend the sickly, slightly older Lake Allen (1799–1824), and how, during these so-called 'idle' years between 1818 and 1823, they had spent many hours together, studying, writing, discussing, transcribing, collecting, to their mutual pleasure and advantage. Madden's mind had broadened, and his interest in, and knowledge of, manuscripts and antiquities had grown rapidly until in 1824, fired by Allen's example, he had contrived to become a professional copyist in London, the first step towards permanent employment in the British Museum as an assistant keeper of manuscripts. By the time of his father's death in 1833, Frederic Madden no longer faced the future with uncertainty. He had been knighted by King William IV and had laid the foundations of his international reputation as a scholar.

One other achievement during these Portsmouth years – perhaps in the long run his greatest – was the regular compilation of a journal after 1 January 1819. He had made spasmodic efforts to record his daily activities even earlier, but not with the same thoroughness and determination which characterized his endeavours after leaving school.[11] Having begun shortly before his eighteenth birthday, he continued diligently throughout his adult life, the last entry being made on 31 December 1872 only a few weeks before his death. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,[12] the 43 volumes, which Madden directed should not be opened for inspection until 1 January 1920,[13] are one of the great unpublished sources of Victorian cultural and social history. Written in a crisp, matter-of-fact style, devoid of literary artifice or ornament, and completely frank, they reflect Madden's arrogant, unbending nature, his prejudices, his extraordinary commitment to his work despite the snubs he received from the Trustees of the Museum, and his sudden rages when he felt that his integrity had been impugned or his authority undermined. Always scrupulously accurate when describing events, he had a keen eye for detail and was incredibly industrious. It has been calculated that his journals contain some four million words,[14] and since in his heyday Madden was living a full life in Victorian London, had many distinguished friends and acquaintances, and, in consequence of his being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, attended many state functions and court ceremonies, they are of great historical interest.[15] A few brief extracts have been published,[16] but for the most part Madden's masterpiece remains neglected by scholars and comparatively unknown. When, eventually, an edited version is produced, he must surely rank alongside such eminent and universally known diarists as Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn and Parson Woodforde.

During the years from 1819 to 1823, when he was living with his parents in St Thomas's Street, Madden's journals[17] not only give a detailed record of his intellectual development and innermost feelings, including his thoughts on his maturing friendship with Mary Hayton, the great love of his life whom he later married, but also provide us with a wealth of information about the contemporary social scene. Madden was young, fun loving, inquisitive, critical and highly intelligent, and had the time to participate in, and comment on, every local event of interest and significance. Consequently, for the student of late Georgian Portsmouth his early diaries are a unique source and of considerable importance.

Of course they have their limitations. Madden was proud to be a gentleman and mixed mainly with townsfolk from his own class. He viewed the world with a profound prejudice against liberals, foreigners, and those whom he considered to be his social inferiors. In September 1819, while he and his friends were strolling along the terraces, they were accosted by 'three common blackguards beastly drunk', who swore and pushed and were generally disagreeable before making off. Madden, incensed, later wrote in his diary:

> This is a specimen of the boasted liberty and free agency England allows the lower classes, by suffering them to insult and abuse every gentleman they meet with and this without a chance of satisfaction for it. I can only say if this is *Liberty* give me *Despotism*.[18]

And again, in June 1821, after a visit to the sea-front establishment later known as the King's Rooms, which was the social centre most frequented by the local gentry and officers, he wrote:

> Extremely full tonight. We are much more genteel this year than last, care having been taken to exclude all tradesmen and Jews, who formerly rendered the promenade quite a nuisance.[19]

Despite his class consciousness, anti-Semitism and other prejudices, Madden wove a remarkably rich tapestry. With him we attend a boxing match lasting 45 rounds between a sailmaker and a shipwright in a field near Kingston, the ascent by balloon from the Portsea Lines of Mr Green the aeronaut, and a visit to Chichester to buy some

coins from a Roman hoard discovered during the excavations for the new Portsmouth and Arundel canal, the journey there being made on a crowded stagecoach and the return home on foot. We read about the garrison races and cricket matches on Southsea Common, the annual regatta, skating in winter on the frozen Little Morass and bathing in the sea in summer. There are evenings spent at parties and fashionable balls, to which his female relatives rode in sedan chairs, and at the High Street theatre where, on one occasion, 'with the excessive heat, the acting had such an effect on the nerves of the ladies that Miss Plomer went into hysterics, Miss Tinling nearly fainted, and the rest sobbed and cryed in unison'.[20]

Occasionally he attended a concert. One, given by the Portsmouth Musical Society in April 1820, was made memorable not so much by the music as by the singers. After reporting that there were 'few females and those ugly and evil', he went on to describe a male quartet in a style that would have done credit to his fellow Portmuthian, Charles Dickens. One 'pursed up his mouth like a button-hole, and appeared in his whole demeanor like a Methodist parson'; another was shorter with a turned-up nose, and a third 'resembled a tub, with round belly, and round rubicund countenance, exhibiting at once a picture of good humour and gluttony'. Of the fourth he wrote:

> . . . he was the very epitome of everything hideous; his eyebrows were elevated and shaggy, occasionally clouding a pair of eyes so sunk in the sockets, as to be scarcely visible; his long lantern jaws, drawn in as if by an air-pump, gave the most ghastly look to a nose that was certainly moulded by a corkscrew, and a frightful mouth extending full two inches beyond its proper place, seemed as if it belonged to another person, and gave the finishing stroke of beauty to this semi-devil.[21]

Sometimes Madden tells us of local customs long since forgotten. On Mayday 1819 he watched the Portsmouth chimney sweeps adorned with ribbons dancing through the streets. 'They had a frame of hoops made in a conical shape and covered with may, ivy, etc.,' he wrote, 'which one of them wore over his body and turned about. Another was dressed as a girl.'[22] On 1 November 1822, All Hallows Day, he noted that locally it was called 'All Holland Day' and traditional for housewives to make iced plum cakes.[23] Once, on 5 November, he went to see 'squibs and candles on the ramparts', but unfortunately 'it rained so hard that I was obliged to leave the field of action and retreat half-drowned to Comerford's'.[24] This was a well-known High Street bookshop where he often browsed among the shelves and met friends. St Valentine's Day was apparently an auspicious occasion in Portsmouth. 'Rose at 8,' he reported in 1820, 'and impatiently waited the postman's arrival with the letters. In doing so it was quite amusing to observe the confusion and bustle prevailing at the Post Office. A dense crowd was formed round it.'[25]

Each July Frederic was to be found at Portsmouth Free Mart Fair and afterwards at the fair which was held on a beautiful site high on Portsdown Hill, near Fort Widley, with spectacular views over Portsea Island and the adjacent harbours. On one occasion he went to the latter in a group of young men which included his brother Charles, who produced some cigars which they all began to smoke. 'They, being accustomed to it, experienced no ill effects from it,' he wrote, 'but with myself it was far different, for after I had got through the first cigar I felt so giddy as scarcely to be able to stand, and shortly after was attacked by a violent fit of sickness.' Another time a party of 27 Maddens and their friends went by wagon and spent an enjoyable time among the stalls and side-shows, picnicing in a marquee that had been brought up to the hill especially for them. At night, 'squeezing, laughing, hallowing, pushing', they merrily made their way home in the darkness down the London Road, with a larger complement of passengers than when they had started out, finally passing through the Landport Gate at midnight. The long, detailed description of this outing is only one of a number of set pieces which magically recapture the spirit of the period.[26]

Particularly interesting are his accounts of visits to various local historic buildings, since some have long since been demolished or drastically altered. One August day in 1820 he and a friend called on their old schoolmaster, the Revd Robert Heysham Cumyns, who was then living at Kingston Parsonage. Afterwards they went to the medieval church of St Mary where they noted down details of the fabric, recorded some of the most interesting inscriptions to be found inside and outside the building, and made sketches of the escutcheons on the tombs, which Madden afterwards copied into his journal.[27] Three years later he went again and was appalled: '. . . what was my surprise and indignation to find the miserable dauber had painted them completely over with white paint, so as to conceal and destroy every vestige of the arms'. Madden remonstrated with the man whom he thought responsible, but was told that his former tutor had known about it. He was sceptical: '. . . although Cumyns likes a dinner better than research of any sort, he would not suffer any heraldic or other monuments under his care to be wilfully destroyed'.[28] The building and most of the gravestones have now gone, but Madden's notes remain to enlighten the ecclesiologist. The general lack of interest shown by most of his contemporaries in the old buildings of Portsea

Island, and the unchecked vandalism, are recurring themes in Madden's early journals and letters.

In 1819 he and a friend crossed Portsmouth Harbour by wherry to visit Portchester. 'The appearance of the castle from the water is peculiarly prepossessing,' he wrote, 'and the different views presented of it from the windings of the channel render it still more striking to ye eye both of ye antiquarian and draughtsman.' While walking round the outside of the fortress, they came across the bones of a prisoner who had been buried on the foreshore during the French Wars. On applying for permission to view the keep, which was then in military occupation, they were told by the colonel that 'the castle was not meant to be a showplace'. Accordingly they abandoned the idea and went to the church, which they inspected thoroughly. The parish records were also scrutinized but proved to be disappointing. From labourers they met they learned that old coins were constantly being turned up in the locality and this was confirmed by the gravedigger. Madden, like his father a keen numismatist, bought two early 14th century silver groats for a shilling from the former sexton's widow, who told him that 'two large earthen jars full of copper Roman coins had been discovered some time ago but that they were either flung away or destroyed'.[29]

Visits were also made to Warblington Castle and the abbeys at Romsey and Quarr. Madden was always meticulous in his preparations for such outings. He read all the available literature in advance, and took with him a packet of paper and pencils in order to make copious notes and sketches. A proposed boat trip to Netley Abbey in 1821 was the source of much eager anticipation, but on this occasion the attractions of a fellow passenger, Miss Barrow of Gosport – 'a very fine girl with laughing black eyes and a beautiful set of teeth' – transcended even his unbounded enthusiasm for antiquities. To his embarrassment, he was later forced to admit that so potent were her blandishments that he ignored 'the Gothic charms of dismantled windows and ivy battlements' and returned home without a single note or sketch.[30]

During these early years, Madden's outings were confined to a very limited area. In December 1819 he confessed that he had never been more than 18 miles from home, and it was another four years before he was able to travel as far as London. But in 1824 he left Portsmouth to begin his professional career[31] and never again lived in the town although he made occasional visits. Both parents died within days of each other in 1833 and when the large house in St Thomas's Street was vacated and sold, his unmarried sisters, Elizabeth (or 'Eliza' as she was generally called), and Emma, joined from time to time by the much travelled and mildly eccentric Anna Maria, made their home at 10 High Street, which still stands. Over the years they wrote frequently to their distinguished brother and kept him in touch with local events and gossip. 'I enclose a paragraph copied from the *Telegraph*, stating an intention to call the Halfway Houses Landport,' his favourite sister Emma wrote on 7 April 1831. 'There has been great difference of opinion respecting it, and I am not certain that it has yet been generally carried into effect.' Unfortunately, Emma's intermittent bouts of insanity resulted in her being sent from one private asylum to another in search of a cure, and she died in 1844 aged 38, much to Frederic's great distress.[32] By 1851, Eliza had moved next door to 11½ High Street, part of Buckingham House, which, with her two female servants, she shared with Samuel Irvine, a surgeon in the Royal Marines, and his wife. She died in 1863 aged 82.[33] The correspondence of various members of the family and their connections, together with many miscellaneous legal and other official documents, and much Madden memorabilia, are to be found in the extensive collection of Madden Papers deposited in the Portsmouth City Records Office.[34]

There, too, is another important collection, Sir Frederic's correspondence with the artist R. H. C. Ubsdell, which illustrates very clearly his lifelong interest in the changing face of his home town and its environs.[35] Written mainly during the years 1840–3 and 1845–8, 57 of the letters are from Ubsdell to Madden and eight from Madden to Ubsdell. This was undoubtedly a difficult period financially for Madden. In 1837 he had taken a second wife, Emily Sarah, the attractive daughter of Dr William Robinson of Tottenham, lawyer, antiquary, and deputy lieutenant of Middlesex, who was said to be the natural son of Admiral Lord Nelson's sister Anne.[36] The births of six children, two of whom died in infancy, followed between 1839 and 1850.[37] Yet despite the demands of a growing family, Madden spent considerable sums of money, which he almost certainly could ill-afford, in a determined effort to preserve a pictorial record of what was rapidly being lost in the tide of change that was engulfing the old town and neighbouring communities.

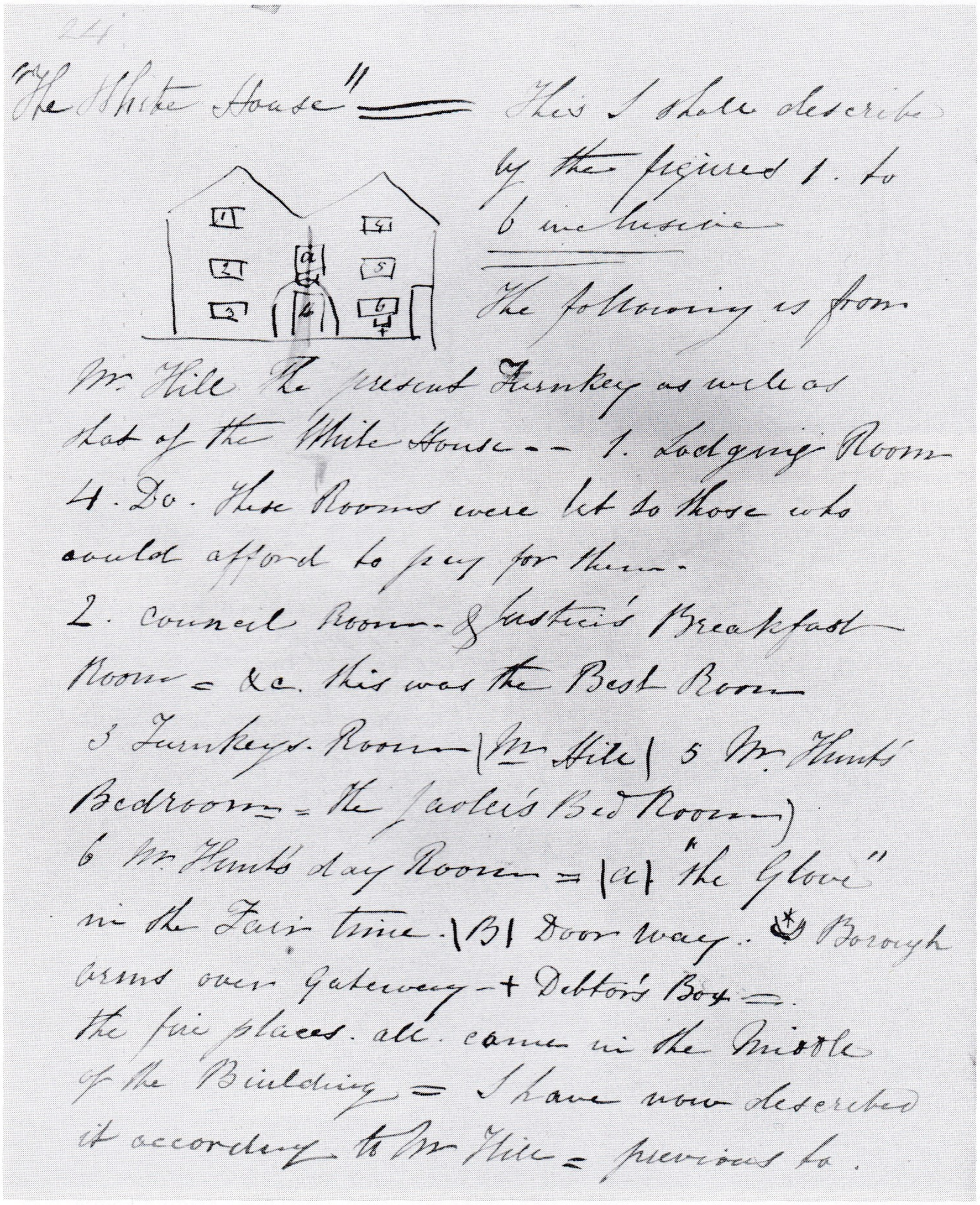
Madden's agent in the project, Richard Henry Clements Ubsdell, was a well-known local artist who had been born in Portsmouth in 1812. For many years his studio, where he painted portrait miniatures and instructed pupils, was at 135 High Street, but some time during the 1850s he acquired 1 Green Row, Vicat Cole's birthplace in what is now Pembroke Road. In his old age he retired to Mile End, where he died in 1887. From his house he sallied forth in his heyday to sketch or paint local seats of the gentry, and sometimes portraits of their owners and members of their families, one of his sitters being Squire Portal of Whitchurch, the banknote paper manufacturer, and

another Jane Austen's niece, Anna Lefroy. Some of his pictures of royal visits and other significant local events were reproduced in the *Illustrated London News*, and on occasion he exhibited at the Royal Academy.[38] Never more than a competent practitioner fulfilling a local need, he was nevertheless ideal for Madden's purpose.

The first record of their business relationship dates from September 1839,[39] when the 26-year-old Ubsdell, who had been sketching at Titchfield, wrote to Madden in an attempt to sell him some of his work. During the next few years he continued to offer him drawings and brass rubbings which he thought might please, but realized early in their correspondence that Madden had particular needs. Consequently, in anticipation of specific commissions, he regularly informed him when any old buildings were under threat of demolition or radical alteration, sometimes providing rough explanatory sketches to help Madden make up his mind. Some of these hastily executed outlines are now of particular interest, because often the finished drawings (if ever they were produced) have been lost. Thus in one letter[40] we have a view of the harbour from Broad Street before the demolition, on 16 July 1840, of Mr Lindergreen's house adjoining the *Star and Garter* at the end of Point, and in another[41] an outline sketch of the whole of Keppel Row in Old Portsmouth before the absorption of the site into the Cambridge Barracks.

R. H. C. Ubsdell as a young man, probably a self-portrait
Portsmouth City Museums

Ubsdell's sketch of the White House, Portsmouth's principal gaol until its demolition about 1805. It stood approximately on the site of the present 34 High Street. Drawn about 1840 with the help of old inhabitants who could remember it, the sketch was sent to Madden with notes explaining the function of the various rooms and other details.
Portsmouth City Records Office


24

"The White House" ═══ This I shall describe by the figures 1. to 6 inclusive

The following is from Mr. Hile. The present Turnkey as well as that of the White House — 1. Lodging Room 4. Do. These Rooms were let to those who could afford to pay for them.
2. Council Room — & Justices' Breakfast Room = &c. This was the Best Room
3 Turnkeys. Room (Mr. Hile) 5 Mr. Hunts Bedroom = the Ladies Bed Room)
6 Mr. Hunts day Room = (a) "the Glove" in the Fair time. (B) Door way. * Borough arms over Gateway — + Debtors' Boys =.
the five places. all. came in the Middle of the Building = I have now described it according to Mr Hile = previous to.

During the 1840s, Ubsdell was kept busy either drawing from nature, or copying existing old pictures of many of the most notable local views and principal historic buildings which Madden remembered from his boyhood, including Southsea Castle and Common, the High Street theatre, the almshouses in Penny Street, Government House, the Garrison Church, and various local forts. Sometimes, when a building had been demolished and there was no known likeness, Ubsdell collected all available oral evidence about its appearance and incorporated

The White House and adjacent vicarage, almost certainly by Ubsdell. The carved wooden hand which was displayed annually to indicate the opening of the Free Mart Fair is shown in its traditional position. There are some differences between this picture and another of the same subject which was described by Ubsdell in a letter to Madden in 1840.
Portsmouth City Museums

The medieval church of St Mary, Kingston, by R. H. C. Ubsdell, shortly before its demolition in 1843
Portsmouth City Museums

it in a drawing. A good example of this is the still extant picture of the White House, the old borough gaol in the High Street. Many inhabitants still remembered it, including Mr Wellspring the butcher, whom Ubsdell described as 'a great antiquarian in this sort of thing'. Although there was some disagreement whether the building had had two or three gables, the main features were easily established, and Ubsdell was able to do a preliminary sketch, to which he added a key showing the purpose of each room on the street front.[42]

Ubsdell also borrowed old maps from local residents and, if Madden was agreeable, made copies. Evidently Sir Frederic already had a considerable private collection, and at least one map from the Cotton Manuscripts had been reproduced at his own expense and presented to Portsmouth Corporation.[43] Such was the ignorance and indifference of some of the town's residents that Madden's purpose was not always understood. When permission was asked of Colonel Lewis, the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers, to make a tracing of an interesting plan of the Square Tower dated 1716 which had come to light, the officer, who generously allowed Ubsdell to take it home for five days, inquired of Madden in amazement: 'If you have so many plans of the magazine why do you want this?'[44] At the time the fortifications were being remodelled, and the bust of Charles I on the Square Tower, and the accompanying stone with the explanatory inscription, had been deposited in the Engineers' office. 'I have seen them there,' Ubsdell wrote on 9 September 1847, and excitedly went on to report a discovery that was to be made again by restorers in the 1980s. 'The clerk of works says the head is of lead. I always understood it to be of copper. The head and inscriptions are to be replaced in the new work.' Madden asked him to copy the exact words, as well as several inscriptions on other buildings in the area which he remembered. Ubsdell went in search but found that most had been removed or obscured, declaring, 'so many old houses having put on new faces'.[45]

In the late 1830s Portsmouth was buzzing with stories of the underwater discoveries of John Dean, a diver. When the *Mary Rose* was located, Ubsdell sketched the salvaged guns as they were brought ashore, and reported developments to his patron, who was greatly interested.

> I asked Mr Dean . . . about the guns the other day when I saw him and he told me all he knew about it which was that he raised the old wooden one (the same as in my drawing) and several brass guns and the people said they came out of the *Mary Rose*. I asked him what he saw at the bottom of the sea where he got the guns from. He answered 'nothing but one large piece of wood' which he got up. Therefore he says he never said they came out of the *Mary Rose* until others did.[46]

Timbers and artefacts from the ship were on sale in Portsea, and when Eliza Madden wrote to her brother in December 1840, she told how, when Anna Maria passed the Emanuels' shop on the Hard, 'she saw some of the *Mary Rose* wood and she asked the price; a small piece he measured, six inches or rather more square, 5*s*., and the bows were £1 10*s*.'.[47]

In many of his letters Ubsdell not only described the physical appearance of the buildings he hoped to draw but also added copious miscellaneous information. 'I shall always feel a delight in giving such like statements about whatever may occur,' he wrote in 1840, 'as well as note down anything which may be of interest.'[48] Some of this was garbled gossip which Madden contemptuously corrected before filing the letters away; but what Ubsdell called 'my scribbling department' was also responsible for many interesting fragments of information which are useful in reconstructing the appearance of mid-Victorian Portsmouth. In 1840 he described the beach near Lumps Fort where the wooden breakwater had been smashed by the pounding waves. 'The sea, when it blows a gale breaks completely over the fort. Most of the interior has been converted into a kitchen garden as I find potatoes, cabbages, &c. growing on the slopes.'[49] A few years later Clarence Esplanade was built. He reported in a letter in 1848: 'The beach at Southsea is now totally altered. All the flat shingle between the crown of the beach and Common is covered with soil, and grass is sown and the roadway which they are now making is from the King's Rooms to the landmark on the beach. It is very wide and will admit of 2 or 3 carriages abreast.'[50] Some time earlier, in furtherance of his promise to Madden 'to send you a masterpiece', he had begun to make drawings of both the interior and exterior of the medieval church of St Mary, Kingston, which soon after was demolished to make way for the mean, short-lived edifice built by Thomas Ellis Owen. To please his patron, Ubsdell found time to make notes about some of its features and even to measure the interior.[51] In other letters are interesting descriptions of the last Free Mart Fair in 1847, the fire at a Drayton farm one February night in 1834, when the Portsmouth skyline had been eerily illuminated,[52] and the considerable changes which had occurred in the local townscape in the late 1840s. The latter concludes with a casual reference to Ubsdell's acquaintance with the Lt-Governor, who was a natural son of King William IV.

> In gossiping with Lord Frederick Fitzclarence some little time ago and mentioning your collection of

drawings and papers relating to Portsmouth, his Lordship begged that I would tell you how happy he should be to see you when you come to Portsmouth.[53]

Expense and accuracy are two important themes which run through the correspondence. Already, in October 1840, Madden, on receiving a bill for £9 16*s*., replied: 'The prices affixed to some of the articles are perhaps rather more than I had expected, but you probably have lost much time in doing them.' Of the drawing of the White House, which had cost 9*s*., he commented: 'The White House appears very like and I recollect it well.' But the letter also attempted to put a brake on their business relationship. 'For the present . . . I do not wish you to copy anything more for me, as it is not improbable I may be at Portsmouth in the course of next year and can then give further directions if I judge necessary.'[54]

Ubsdell's artistic waywardness when producing pictures of historic buildings was a particular source of irritation to Madden. In August 1841 he received the collection of watercolour drawings of Hampshire parish churches which is now owned by the City of Portsmouth.[55] 'Their correctness I am positive of,' Ubsdell averred, 'as I sketched every one myself and they were most of them color'd on the spot. I have been particular with the windows, doors, &c. as I am aware that detail was of consequence . . .'. Madden must have snorted when he read this, since he wrote in the margin: 'Not so *particular* as you ought to have been Mr Ubsdell. Many are done very carelessly and inaccurately.'[56] A few months later he returned to the subject. 'You will also excuse the liberty I take in recommending to you in taking drawings of churches in future, to attend more strictly to the *architectural details*, which to an antiquary are of more value than mere effect.'[57] Ubsdell replied immediately, promising to be more exact. 'But,' he went on, 'I suppose this remark cannot apply to such as Havant, Warblington and Alverstoke, all of which are most carefully finished . . . They were the best drawings I had ever made for your collection.'[58]

Ubsdell had probably been alarmed by Madden's news that 'for the present I do not intend to add further to my Hampshire collection and therefore must beg you to direct no parcel to me, unless it comes free'.[59] He wrote back: 'I am very sorry to find that you are about to discontinue your collection, as it has been a source of great pleasure to me, as well as profit. Still I shall not forget to collect any little scraps which may [be] of service at some future time.'[60] The extant correspondence peters out in the months that followed and does not resume until October 1845. Even then Madden's shaky finances prompted him to try to curb Ubsdell's enthusiasm by writing: '. . . I have really spent so much in fees to medical men this year, that I have not much to spend in my own pursuits . . . I have been so ill a long time that I can scarcely hold a pen.'[61]

Ubsdell's dealings with Madden were influenced increasingly by the development of the camera. In the 1859 edition of White's Hampshire *Directory*, Ubsdell is listed under 'artists and photographers', and the last communication we have between the two men, dated May 1857, is written on a printed brochure advertising the Portsmouth Stereoscopic Company, run by two of Ubsdell's sons. Madden, happy with 18 prints which he had received, sent 18*s*. in payment. Another age was dawning, when it was possible to make a topographical or architectural record much more quickly, accurately and cheaply than ever before. As an archivist, Madden readily appreciated the potential of the new medium. When, in November 1852, he was shown a photograph taken by a certain Dr Diamond of a page from a medieval cartulary, he enthused about it in his diary, forseeing the day when, as he put it, 'accurate facsimiles of any number of pages of a MS. . . . may be taken without difficulty and at trifling expense'.[62]

In his assignments for Madden, Ubsdell had frequently come into contact with the Slight brothers, physicians, surgeons and antiquaries, who lived in the High Street, Henry at no. 100, opposite the *Dolphin*, and Julian at no. 125, close to the Unitarian chapel. Of the two, Henry was the more active in public affairs. Born in 1796, probably the son of a cordwainer, and two years older than his brother, he had become by the 1820s self-appointed borough historian and community busybody. His ambition was to become a man of letters, and he wrote extensively and often ludicrously inaccurately on local history and such current problems as public health and education, and had one of his plays performed at the High Street theatre in 1824.[63] The nadir of his literary ineptitude came in 1820 with the publication of his *Metrical History of Portsmouth*. Written in execrable verse, the dedication opens with these immortal lines extolling his own twin talents:

Thus spoke Upnoticus, a moth,
(I hope henceforth he'll spare the cloth),
"'Tis not for mortal to command
'The knife and pen with selfsame hand.'
Lives there no sportsman, to whose lot
Hath fall'n two birds at single shot?
Lives there no surgeon who can twist
With master skill the game of whist,
Yet can the fever keep at bay,
Bid the heart torrent softer play?
Is there not one can sweep the lyre
And master still the typhus fire?

And so it continues *ad nauseam*. Madden, on first reading it, reacted strongly in a letter to his friend Lake Allen. 'In every page are errors, and those of the most palpable nature, offending both poetry, fiction, history and truth.'[64] His view of Slight's talent as a scholar remained unchanged throughout his life. When, in 1828, Henry and Julian published their *Chronicles of Portsmouth*, which went into several editions during the following quarter-century, Madden wrote on his own copy: 'There never was a composition so miserably composed and jumbled together as this.'[65] But although Henry Slight was the antithesis of the meticulous, unselfish, and scrupulously accurate amateur historian whom Madden most admired, he and his brother had one of the best collections of prints, plans and miscellaneous manuscripts in the area, and Madden feared that failure to co-operate might deprive him of the opportunity to consult this rich archive. Consequently, in his dealings with the two physicians he frequently had to conceal his true feelings.

Their relationship is best illustrated by correspondence which has survived from the 1830s. In a letter written on 15 June 1835, Henry Slight announced grandly: 'I am about to publish the spirit of the municipal reform bill as it applies to Portsmouth, with antiquarian and other illustrations, being in fact a history of the municipal corporation strictly – not diverging into any other theme.' He went on to seek advice about appropriate source material in the British Museum. Madden's immediate reactions are expressed in no uncertain terms in a note he scrawled on the letter.

> Mr Slight is so totally *incompetent* to undertake a history of the Corporation, as proved by his works already published relative to the town, that to collect materials for him would be loss of time and labour. He would not know how to use [Lake] Allen's extracts, even if he had them, and cannot himself copy three lines correctly.

The burden of Madden's reply was to direct him to the town records rather than to those in the Museum, but he added somewhat unexpectedly:

> With regard to the work you announce I shall be glad to see it appear, and if you publish it by subscription I beg you will insert my name in your list.[66]

The following May Slight wrote again to inform him that he was about to lithograph the ancient seals of Portsmouth, since he feared that the new council elected after the recent Municipal Corporations Act 'might order them to be destroyed as idolatrous remnants of Popish superstition'. He sought Madden's advice in deciphering the inscriptions and explaining the figures and symbols. In due course he received a polite and informative letter dealing with the queries, but Madden, keenly interested in sphragistics, again recorded privately his honest opinion: 'Mr Slight is so ignorant and conceited a person that I would wish to have seen the seal of Portsmouth in any hands but his.'[67]

Madden must have been seriously alarmed when, in another letter written in 1836 at the time of the Parliamentary Inquiry into the affairs of the Museum, Slight confessed a desire to withdraw from the medical profession and concentrate on his antiquarian pursuits.

> How I envy you the immense literary resources you have in hand . . . believe me you cannot appreciate them justly unless like those in the provinces you were to feel the positive want of them, to find yourself, as the great dram[atist] expresses it, 'caged, cabined and confined'.

No doubt Madden's blood pressure soared when he read on:

> I wish the alterations which will inevitably follow in the construction and adaptation of the Museum and its enlarged scope of action as hinted at by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would open a place for me of some literary description. How willingly would I exchange this for a residence in London, with its enlarged and boundless field of intellect, for the dry, and I had almost said, waste or desert of a provincial town, with one man of letters to a thousand without either taste or minds beyond the mere common routine of life.[68]

The flow of information and advice, however, was not all one way. In April 1833, for example, Slight sent Madden copies of some inscriptions in St Thomas's church. The following year, knowing that Madden had paid more than he could afford for an original Portsmouth theatre account book dating from the 1770s, he suggested that a lawyer who was seeking certain information that it might contain, should pay a search fee of two guineas. Again, in 1837, he sent Madden a sketch of the houses in the High Street which had been demolished to make way for the new guildhall, together with the names of the former residents and, somewhat mysteriously, 'a bagatelle I have printed for the schoolboys'.[69]

Most of the time the Slight brothers were unpredictable and ill-natured in their dealings with Madden's agent, the near-demented Ubsdell. 'I find it difficult to play my part

Sir Frederic Madden, aged 61
Portsmouth City Records Office

with so great a man,' he wrote sarcastically of Henry on 24 August 1840, 'as he does not let me look at anything except to show me what *nobody* else has.'[70] The very name Slight became odious to him. When he sent Madden a 36 page report on one occasion, he wrote apologetically: 'I hope that . . . when you see Messrs Slights' name mentioned, you'll forgive me but the nature of my subject requires it and I am sure that you will excuse seeing their names mentioned, so long as it is only in connection with my subject.'[71]

The early 19th century was a time when those in authority seem to have had little regard for the preservation of historical documents, many of which, now lost, circulated freely among local antiquaries. Occasionally, when he could borrow interesting records, and this was often a cloak-and-dagger operation in which he seemed to delight, Ubsdell tried to transcribe them. Unfortunately his Latin and palaeography invariably proved to be inadequate and he had to admit defeat. In the autumn of 1840 he discovered that a Mr Elliott had a manuscript containing details of a 16th century perambulation of Portsmouth, as well as an early 18th century map. When asked if they might be copied for Sir Frederic Madden, Elliott agreed, but added that he felt bound to give priority to Henry Slight, who had shown an interest in examining them and had been civil to him. ('More than he is to me', Ubsdell added in an aside.) On 29 September 1840 Ubsdell wrote angrily to Madden:

> Henry Slight ascertained I had been talking to Mr E. and he told me that if I was the means of his losing 'the rarities' that he should consider I had robbed him . . . He said I should rummage up everything belonging to Portsmouth and send them away where they were not wanted and many such like kind expressions. He is about to write to ask about a letter that he wants from the State Paper Office. He said you would get it for him. All I have to say is that I am obliged to pay him handsomely for all I have had of him and I think he will never let me have another rummage over his collections.[72]

Considering his acquisitiveness, it is surprising to find Slight writing to Madden in March 1844 offering to sell him what seem to have been items from his local collection. Madden's response was swift and equally unexpected. 'I am not rich enough to indulge my taste in this way so much as I used to do,' he explained, 'and therefore must decline your offer.' Slight, who also appears to have been in financial difficulties at the time and not to have wanted it known in Portsmouth, allowed an element of desperation to creep into his reply. 'You overrate my collection. Send me a cheque for £10. I will return you a parcel containing all I possess regarding Hampshire. I do not want them distributed here.' But Madden remained adamant and ever after regretted it.[73] Many years later, when Henry Slight was dead, he inquired about their fate. 'Mr Julian Slight is yet alive and has I understand all his brother's papers. Poor creature,' his informant added, 'he is rarely sober throughout a day.'[74]

Collecting and transcribing original manuscripts relating to Hampshire and particularly to Portsmouth was one of Madden's greatest interests. He had begun during his period of leisured friendship with Lake Allen and continued throughout his life. In a letter to Edward Carter in 1830 he explained his purpose.

> As a native of Portsmouth and an antiquarian, I am deeply interested in the ancient history of this town and neighbourhood, and from the facilities of access I profess to the large masses of old documents preserved in the record offices . . . &c. have for some years been making collections towards a history of the Hundred of Portsdown. The very feeble and inadequate attempts hitherto made to write any account of this place furnish me with an additional motive to persevere, and should I never publish my collections, I shall place them in the Museum, for the benefit of those who may survive me.[75]

A few months later he wrote to the Revd C. B. Henville, the vicar of Portsmouth, explaining that his proposed research was 'not so much with a view to publication as to preserve many valuable documents which from time, negligence or accident are lost or destroyed'. He revealed that he wished to work on some of the Winchester College archives which Henville had authority to borrow and was also hoping to transcribe some of the Southwick muniments. These records, together with those in the British Museum and other repositories would mean that 'I shall be able to amass more curious information respecting this part of the county than most persons have any idea of'.[76] Henville travelled to Winchester in early December and brought back a consignment of medieval manuscripts for Madden's use, but confided gloomily that although he did not know much about them, 'I do not conjecture that they contain any very valuable information'.[77]

The fruits of Madden's lifelong labours are now to be found in many places, but of greatest significance are the eight massive volumes in the Additional Manuscripts collection in the British Library;[78] not donated, as he had originally planned, because of his subsequent fury at the Trustees' mean treatment of him, but purchased some years after his death. Collectively containing almost 2,500

folios, they cover the whole county, but Volumes IV and V relate exclusively to Portsdown Hundred and Volume VI (which includes much of Madden's correspondence with local historians) to Portsmouth itself. In addition, Volume I consists almost entirely of original manuscripts dealing with local military and naval affairs between 1573 and 1805. Although some of Madden's transcripts are from official records which have been calendared or indexed since his lifetime and so are now more easily accessible in print, the collection as a whole is still an essential source for anyone interested in the history of the Portsmouth area before the mid-19th century. Some of the manuscripts transcribed have since been lost. One which turned up unexpectedly comparatively recently in the Wallop Collection at the Hampshire Record Office is an early Portsmouth theatre register which Madden bought in 1833 and reluctantly sold for financial reasons in 1867. The notes which he made while the volume was in his possession were sufficiently comprehensive to make possible, before its re-discovery, a fairly detailed study of the theatre and its operations in the 1770s.[79]

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there are seven further volumes[80] which were compiled in the early 1830s when, after the loss of his first wife and child, Madden sought consolation in private research. They deal primarily with the Portsmouth area, although Madden himself described them as 'Collections relative to the County of Hampshire from inedited MSS. with a view towards a future history of that county'. These small notebooks provide far less information than those in the British Library, and are of comparatively minor significance. The first six volumes contain some extracts taken by Lake Allen, Henry Ellis and others from various medieval records, but, for the most part, the transcripts are Madden's own from, principally, the Pipe Rolls. The final volume (VII) has material relating to Portsmouth parish church, including copies of two short glebe terriers (1662 and 1779) and some 17th century letters then in the possession of the vicar.[81]

The heavy cost of antiquarian research at this period is revealed by a bill dated 31 January 1831 which Madden received from the Pipe Office, and which is now contained in Volume II. Searches in 15 rolls of King John's reign, at 2*s*. a roll, amounted to £1 10*s*.; the taking of extracts from 14 rolls at 8*d*. a folio cost £3 8*s*. 8*d*.; and the bagbearer's fee for fetching the rolls was 15*s*. The total was given as £5 13*s*. 8*d*., but Madden noticed an overcharge and 3*s*. was accordingly deducted.

In addition to his research papers, Madden amassed a substantial library of printed books and pamphlets, and miscellaneous ephemera relating to his home town. When his father died in 1833, he acquired his complete file of the *Hampshire Telegraph*,[82] and continued to develop it until 1863. He also collected newspaper cuttings relating to the county. Five volumes covering the period 1668–1848 are now in the Portsmouth Central Library. The criteria which governed Madden's selection are difficult to establish, since the trivial and the significant are mounted side by side; but there is a mass of information about Portsmouth, and the first volume, covering mainly the 18th century after c. 1720, is of particular interest because it pre-dates the founding of the *Hampshire Telegraph* in 1799 and includes some very rare extracts.[83]

Also in the Portsmouth Central Library is the remarkable Madden playbill collection, which now contains 624 items bound into six large folders. How many of these were originally owned by Madden is not known because a number of additions have been made since the collection was acquired by the library. The great majority, however, were almost certainly in his possession. Most date from the first half of the 19th century, but some are from the 1780s, including a very rare playbill of 1782 from the short-lived Sadler's Wells theatre, which stood in or near the modern Guildhall Walk. Although theatre bills predominate, there are also posters advertising circuses, exhibitions, travelling shows (especially during the Free Mart Fair), concerts and public events, thus making the collection a valuable source for the history of Portsmouth entertainment. One unusual item,[84] somewhat out of place, is the score-sheet of two cricket matches played in July 1816 between Portsmouth Garrison and Fareham, preserved, no doubt, because Captain Madden, a keen sportsman, was a member of the twice triumphant Portsmouth team.

These various Hampshire collections are only one aspect of Madden's contribution to English archives. With the help of his second wife, Emily Sarah, and his daughter, Emily Mary, he compiled for his own use a whole series of specialized portfolios, including three devoted to the history of chess, which he hoped one day to write but never

Emily Mary, Sir Frederic and Lady Madden's only daughter, born 1848
Portsmouth City Records Office

The Search Room, Portsmouth City Records Office

did, and another to the history of costume, as well as four volumes of clippings and other items relating to the history of the British Museum. But perhaps the most remarkable of his personal collections was that consisting of 27,500 ballads and songs bound in 25 volumes now preserved in Cambridge University Library.[85]

Unfortunately, a large number of Madden's books and papers were sold by auction in 1867 at his retirement and in 1873 at his death,[86] and although some have found their way into institutional keeping,[87] many valuable items have been lost. It is known, for example, that he collected the annual reports of the Portsmouth and Portsea Literary and Philosophical Society, which soon became rarities even in his own day, and recruited Ubsdell's services to fill gaps in the series.[88] Clearly, despite teenage frustration when Portsmouth had seemed a cage from which to escape, Frederic Madden was devoted to the place of his birth. 'I should not have troubled you with this long letter,' Ubsdell once wrote, 'only that I know you take an interest in all that appertains to Portsmouth.'[89]

It is a tragedy that Madden never found time to produce a full-scale history of his native town or region. Had he done so we should now undoubtedly possess a work of major importance. He certainly realized how serious was the need, and it is one of the more endearing aspects of his complex personality that he was always willing to share his own findings with others who were seriously intent on expanding the frontiers of knowledge. Thus when the *Mary Rose* was discovered and Samuel Horsey, a Portsea printer, decided to cash in on the wide popular interest by producing a little book with covers made from wood from the ship, which, through contemporary records, would tell the story of the disaster, Madden responded willingly to his request for help. He sent a complete list of sources, provided accurate copies of documents and inscriptions on the guns, and even corrected the proofs.[90]

Perhaps the most revealing correspondence is that which he had with Archdeacon Wright, chaplain to the forces, and author of *The Story of the Domus Dei of Portsmouth*.[91] It was written during the last months of Madden's life, when failing health and self-imposed exile from the Museum were taking their toll. He had a family as well as an antiquarian interest in the building, since it contained memorials to his parents and to his uncle, Major-General Sir George Allan Madden, and he willingly shared his immense knowledge. Wright was deeply appreciative and confessed:

> I am no antiquarian but simply a man of commonsense drawn by circumstances close to an old ecclesiastical building and compelled to take pleasure in its story. What an advantage then for me to have a world-known archaeologist who so kindly helps me with documents and facts that required more than a generation to collect together.[92]

Madden's reply was warm and complimentary:

> My dear Sir, No apology is necessary for your little work on Domus Dei. Antiquarian minuteness is not to be expected and would be out of place in pages intended to be popular; and all that is requisite is accuracy as to *facts* and *dates*. You certainly are the first to write anything connected with the history of Portsmouth with discrimination. Allen (whom I knew well) was a mere youth when he undertook in 1817 a new edition of his grandfather's work printed in 1775 and Henry Slight was so ignorant that his histories are contemptible.[93]

By November 1872, three months before Madden's death, the book was complete and in proof. 'Your work, with the documents annexed,' he wrote, 'is really a valuable contribution not only to the local history of Portsmouth but to the general history of the county.' From Madden this was praise indeed. He continued with the request that minor alterations should be made to the preface, in which Wright had used the words 'highly learned' and 'delicately accurate' when acknowledging Madden's major contribution. 'I should esteem it . . . a favour if you would strike out . . . the words "highly" and what is equally important "delicately".'[94] Wright complied, putting simply: 'To Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., the leading archaeologist of the day, I owe very much.'

In February 1873, Wright sent Madden a letter of thanks for two guineas he had contributed to the Domus Dei restoration fund. In it he wrote:

> I know so well the great interest you have ever taken in Portsmouth and its past doings and how accurate are all your notes about the borough and the whole county. I therefore not only for myself but for the community at large pray for your restoration to health and strength.[95]

It must have been one of the last letters he received. A fortnight or so later he died. He had done more than any other Portmuthian to build up a pictorial and written archive for the use of future historians of the city. Without his lifelong devotion our historical heritage would be infinitely poorer. Yet the people of Portsmouth have shown little appreciation of his efforts. There is no Frederic Madden school or library, no street, road or avenue named after him, although many men with far less right to recognition

have been accorded this honour. Surely it is time for Portsmouth to make amends by commemorating in some way the immense contribution of one of its most notable sons.

If Madden could return to Portsmouth today he would be amazed at the widespread interest in the history of the locality. The carefully preserved buildings and fortifications, the developing dockyard maritime heritage complex, the remarkable group of public museums, the many societies concerned with the past, and the unrivalled series of Council-sponsored local history publications would occasion him immense pride. Above all he would rejoice at the Portsmouth City Records Office, with its microfilm readers and photo-copying equipment, a haven for the successors of Lake Allen, the Slight brothers, and young Frederic himself. We have come a long way since Archdeacon Wright observed: 'I fancy that too frequently muniments are deemed rubbish examined from time to time by lunatics and therefore utterly uncared for. Thus documents of immense value are lost for ever and the nature of the loss not discovered until some antiquarian makes clear who the real lunatics were.'[96] In our day, lunatics who wantonly destroy manuscripts are not yet an extinct species, but fortunately most of the key records of Portsmouth's past have now been deposited in the city archives in Museum Road and Guildhall Square, where they are available to all with an interest in the history of the area. It is in the Portsmouth City Records Office that we come closest to the indomitable spirit of Sir Frederic Madden, and his unflagging determination to preserve for future generations the materials essential for discovering and understanding the way of life and achievements of Portsmouth people through the ages.

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23 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 143, p. 319.

24 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 140, p. 87.

25 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 141, p. 60.

26 Bod.L, MSS. Eng. hist. c. 140, pp. 62–3, c. 141, pp. 202–4; J. Webb, 'Portsmouth Free Mart Fair: The Last Phase 1800–1847', *The Portsmouth Papers*, 35 (Portsmouth, 1982), pp. 9, 14.

27 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 141, pp. 212–16.

28 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 144, p. 126.

29 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 140, pp. 17–19.

30 Bod.L, MSS. Eng. hist. c. 141, pp. 38–54, c. 142, pp. 162–7, 172b; BL, Add. MS. 33,284, ff. 320r–23r.

31 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. c. 140, p. 95; Webb, *Hampshire Studies*, pp. 217–20.

32 *Hampshire Telegraph*, 6, 13 May 1833, 1 July 1833, 13 April 1835; BL, Add. MS. 33,283, f. 193r; Ackerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5, 37.

33 P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), HO/107/1658; P(ortsmouth) C(ity) R(ecords) O(ffice), 179A/6/7(38). Elizabeth Margaret Madden was buried in Highland Road cemetery, 1 May 1863 (PCRO, GBBH/2/1).
34 PCRO, 179A/4/1–6, 179A/6/1–10.
35 (PCRO), U(bsdell) L(etters), 11A/29/131 onwards.
36 PCRO, 179A/6/7/13–15; *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, vol. 1 (1904), pp. 170, 210.
37 Ackerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–20; BL, Add. MS. 57,342.
38 *Portsmouth Times*, 11 June 1887; J. Webb, 'An Early Victorian Street: The High Street, Old Portsmouth', *The Portsmouth Papers*, 26 (Portsmouth, 1977), p. 19; W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, p. 317; PCRO, 1390 A/1, Ubsdell pedigree, compiled by Mrs A. J. Durden; UL, 20 Oct. 1845; D. Cecil, *A Portrait of Jane Austen* (Penguin edn 1980), p. 161 for a reproduction of Anna Lefroy's portrait.
39 BL, Egerton MS. 2,842, ff. 95r–6v.
40 UL, 16 July 1840.
41 UL, 28 Dec. 1846.
42 UL, 29 July 1840 and pp. 23–7 of undated descriptions of drawings.
43 UL, 18 Aug. 1840.
44 UL, 19 Sept. 1847.
45 UL, 9, 15, 23 Sept. 1847.
46 UL, 16 July 1840, ?1 Aug. 1840, p. xix.
47 PCRO, 179A/6/2(26).
48 UL, 26 July 1840.
49 UL, ?1 Aug. 1840, p. xvi.
50 UL, 16 April 1848.
51 UL, 18 Aug. 1841, 1 Oct. 1841. The length of the church from the east window to the west inner door was 90 ft 11 ins, and from the inner door to the outer door 15 ft 7 ins. The chancel was 25 ft 6 ins long and 13 ft 6 ins wide at the altar rails. The wall at the chancel door was 2 ft 5 ins thick.
52 UL, 29 July 1847; Webb, 'Free Mart Fair', pp. 12–13, 18.
53 UL, 8 Jan. 1850.
54 UL, 17 Oct. 1840.
55 Kept in the Portsmouth City Museum and Art Gallery, Museum Road.
56 UL, Aug. 1841.
57 UL, 10 Feb. 1842.
58 UL, 11 Feb. 1842.
59 UL, 10 Feb. 1842.
60 UL, 11 Feb. 1842.
61 UL, 13 Oct. 1845.
62 Quoted by Ackerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–1.
63 PCRO, PRL/1/1, 16 Oct. 1798; PCRO, CHU/2/1A/8; PRO, HO/107/1658; H. and J. Slight, *Chronicles of Portsmouth* (1828), p. 244.
64 Webb, *Hampshire Studies*, pp. 211–12.
65 PCRO, 11A/22/2, p. 95.
66 BL, Add. MS. 33,283, ff. 194r–5v.
67 *Ibid.*, ff. 196r–200r.
68 *Ibid.*, f. 200r.
69 *Ibid.*, ff. 207r–8r, 458r–9v, 472r–3v.
70 UL, 24 Aug. 1840.
71 UL, ?1840. Undated. The letter paper has a reproduction of an engraving of Southampton Bargate.
72 UL, 29 Sept. 1840.
73 PCRO, 11A/22/2, attached to last page.
74 BL, Add. MS. 33,283, f. 406r.
75 *Ibid.*, f. 190r.
76 *Ibid.*, ff. 201r–2v.
77 *Ibid.*, f. 205r.
78 BL, Add. MSS. 33,278–85. It is hoped to give a more detailed description of these volumes in an article in the *Portsmouth Archives Review*.
79 Hampshire Record Office, 15M84, box 65; J. Webb, 'The Portsmouth Theatre Account Book, 1771–4', *Portsmouth Archives Review*, Vol. IV (1979–80), pp. 44–6.
80 Bod.L, MSS. Top. Hants. e 1–7.
81 A small collection of corrected transcripts in Madden's hand is also preserved in PCRO (11A/22/5). Other working papers are in the Harvard University Library (Eng. 527F, etc.), but they do not seem to contain Hampshire material.
82 PCRO, 179A/6/2(44). Also see below, p. 21.
83 Portsmouth Central Library (Local History Collection), 942.27: vol. 1 (1668–1799), vol. 2 (1800–28), vol. 3 (1829–31), vol. 4 (1832–9), vol. 5 (1840–8).
84 No. 8.
85 Ackerman, *op. cit.*, Bibliography B. Unfortunately, the Portsmouth and some other collections are omitted.
86 BL, S.–C.S. 578(6), 692(1).
87 Others have come via the Madden family, either by gift or private sale. Among locally preserved items are his copy of Allen's history in the Cope Collection, University of Southampton, and his extensively annotated copy of Slights' *Chronicles* in PCRO (11A/22/2).
88 UL, 9, 15 Sept. 1847.
89 UL, Sept. 1847.
90 BL, Add. MS. 33,283, ff. 351r–6r. See also *Narrative of the Loss of the Mary Rose at Spithead* (Portsea, 1842). Madden's contribution is not acknowledged.
91 BL, Add. MS. 33,283, ff. 398r–451r.
92 *Ibid.*, f. 406v.
93 *Ibid.*, f. 410r.
94 *Ibid.*, ff. 447r, 449r.
95 *Ibid.*, ff. 450r–51v.
96 *Ibid.*, f. 417r.

APPENDIX

Portsmouth Revisited (1866)

On 28 August 1866, Sir Frederic and Lady Madden, and their two younger children, Emily Mary (aged 18) and James Arnold Wycliffe Madden (aged 16), began a short holiday at Gosport, where they stayed at Stoke House at the invitation of their relatives, the Jacksons. Sir Frederic, still distressed by the death the previous year of his favourite son, George, and troubled by the financial implications of his impending retirement, was at the time negotiating the lease of a house in which to live after quitting his official residence in Bloomsbury. The weather throughout the visit was unpleasant, but despite the wind and rain the family went on excursions to the Isle of Wight and Southampton, where they dined on 'mock turtle soup, fowls, partridges, jellies and puddings, grapes, &c.' at 4 Albion Terrace, the home of Sir Frederic's brother Charles, a retired naval officer. Madden also made several nostalgic trips to Portsmouth, and in his journal[1] *gave his impressions of the dramatic changes that he had noticed since his previous visit. The extracts printed below provide a vivid portrait of the area when the medieval walled town at the harbour mouth was rapidly declining in importance, while new communities, especially Southsea, were developing apace.*

Tuesday 28 August
Showers all the day, some of them heavy. We left the Museum at ¼ to nine o'clock & drove to the Waterloo Railway Station, where I took family tickets for a fortnight to Ryde [*sic*]. We passed by Basingstoke onwards to Bishopstoke & then to Fareham, where we changed carriages. It fortunately ceased to rain while we did so. We arrived at Stoke Road, our station,[2] at 12.30 and on alighting, found Major Jackson's[3] manservant awaiting us. The luggage was placed in a fly[4] and we walked to the house called Stoke House, which is pleasantly situated, within a quarter of a mile of the station.[5] We found the residence very comfortable, with a garden in front and at the back. It forms the moiety of a larger mansion originally one, but now divided into two. It is very convenient for Fan,[6] whom we have brought down with us. We lunched at two o'clock and afterwards walked into Gosport (about half a mile) and crossed over to Portsmouth by the floating bridge.[7] The street leading from Point looked more miserable than ever, but I noticed that only one of the original low red-tiled cottages now remained in it, not far from the Artillery Barracks.[8] The Parade and High Street seemed deserted, and the gates of the Garrison Chapel[9] were locked, and nothing at present done to the building. I called at Charpentier's the engravers,[10] but he said he had nothing new in the way of engravings. He told me that a person named Lewis who resides at Bedhampton, had published a plan of Gosport some years ago, and that this was the only one extant. Heavy rain now came on and we were obliged to take shelter in a shop. When it ceased we returned to Gosport and E. took a fly home with E.M.[11] and Fan, whilst Arnold & I walked. We find the house really very convenient and if we have fine weather shall try to profit by it.

[*Wednesday 29 August. A wet day but the Maddens visited Stokes Bay.*]

Thursday 30 August
To our great joy, a very fine day . . . After breakfast we walked into Gosport, which is a wretched dirty place, and were it not for the soldiers, would appear a desert. Emily with the children and maidservant, took a boat and went on board the *Victory* and *Duke of Wellington*,[12] but as I had no taste for boating, I crossed to Portsmouth and walked up the High Street. On my way I called at Newland's the photographers[13] (the same who took Henry Madden's[14] carte-de-visite) and proposed to him to take a photographic view of my late father's house in St Thomas's Street. He engaged to do it, and supply 12 copies for about [£]1–1–0. I joined E. and the children again at ½ past twelve, and we took some luncheon at Hill's the confectioners,[15] the *best* in Portsmouth, but very bad. The mock turtle soup was sour, and the cold beef tough; the Bath buns uneatable! We afterwards walked by Green Row[16] through K[*ing*] William Gate to the glacis, where I was surprised to see the large Pier Hotel and row of houses recently erected,[17] on the edge of the morass[18] formerly there. The site must be very damp. We pursued our walk to the King's Rooms on the beach,[19] where I also noticed several alterations. The hideous statues of Nelson and Wellington[20] have disappeared and are replaced by two mortars. A large anchor is placed to point out the spot near to which Nelson embarked for the last time;[21] and along the Esplanade are some Russian guns, and monuments to Capt. Sir W. Peel, the crew of the *Trident*, and the soldiers and sailors who died of wounds received in the Crimea.[22] None of them are in good taste. We crossed the Common to the *Cricketers*,[23] which reminded me of old times, as the name is still preserved but slightly altered. Formerly, it was the *Five Cricketers*. In front of this and extending across the old morass, a wall is about to be built, to define the limits of the Common. We walked on to Grove Road, and called at an establishment for young ladies called 'The Cams'[24] where Major Jackson has placed his little girl. It was arranged that she should come

over to us on Saturday. We were now tired and engaged a fly, which took us by the Clarendon Road passed St Simon's church (the latest erected at Southsea)[25] and back by the Eastern Parade and Clarence Parade. It was one continuous row of houses the whole way! In fact they are now carried half a mile beyond Southsea Castle. It is really marvellous how people can come and live here. The town of Portsmouth is deserted for Southsea. On arriving at Castle Road, we drove up a number of meaner streets to the Landport Road and passed the railway station,[26] which seems to have been rebuilt, and a large hotel adjoining[27] is now nearly completed. The Napier Memorial column[28] at the intersection of the roads just beyond presents another instance of bad taste. We drove through Lion Gate into Queen St and round by the Hard and across the Quay Gate bridge[29] to the Point, where we arrived just in time to catch the floating bridge for Gosport. We were all very tired, and not particularly gratified with the day's excursion. There are no good shops in Gosport and the supplies of fish, vegetables, fruit, eggs, fowls, &c. very uncertain and indifferent. We must make the best of it.

[*Friday 31 August. Visit to Ryde.*]

Saturday 1 September
Fine but much wind . . . At half past ten I crossed over to Portsmouth with the children and Fan, and called at the *Hampshire Telegraph* office,[30] where I was shown the first number of the paper, published on the 14 October 1799. I inquired what had become of the copy of the paper formerly in the library of the Philosophical Society here and was told it had gone to Caine's library in Wish Lane.[31] I doubt if there are many perfect sets in existence, and next to the one in the *Telegraph* office, I think the copy I possess is probably the most complete. [*Footnote by Madden*: Previous to the *Portsmouth* (afterwards *Hampshire*) *Telegraph*, a paper was published called the *Portsmouth Gazette*, from 8 July 1793 to 8 Feb. 1802,[32] a copy of which I also possess.] I afterwards called at Batchelor's,[33] High St and purchased some views of Southsea and Stanford's map of Portsmouth, Portsea and Southsea, 1866. Thence we proceeded to St Thomas's church where I pointed out to the children the spot in the middle aisle where my brothers and sisters were buried.[34] The stained glass at the east end struck me more forcibly than ever by the poverty of the designs and poorness of the colouring. The tawdry painting of the Commandments & Creed beneath disfigure the chancel, and I regretted the absence of the Duke of Buckingham's monument which used to stand here.[35] The other four monuments formerly on the east wall are now dispersed in other parts of the church, and are not easily found. Meddling has done more harm than good. We then walked on to look at my late father's house, which looked neglected and out of repair. As we returned down the High St I noticed the principal inn, the *George*, was shut up,[36] and this will be the fate I suppose of many other houses here. We called at a shop filled with photographs at the corner of Pembroke St and I noticed on the wall a large coloured view of Southsea from the beach in outline coarsely executed, but new to me.[37] It was said to have been published in London at [£]1–1–0 the copy! We continued our stroll through K[*ing*] William Gate to the Common as far as Southsea Castle. The keeper of the lighthouse there (not long erected)[38] offered to show us over it, but I did not care to go, as it was so windy. We came back by the Esplanade to Portsmouth, and eat some mutton pies at a shop facing the Parade (formerly Grossmith's, when I was a boy).[39] The woman who was the proprietor, bitterly complained of the condition of the town in respect to trade, and said the shopkeepers would all be ruined before long! At two o'clock we again started to visit the Garrison Chapel, which we found open and there were several soldiers employed in cleaning and dusting. On entering the chapel and looking about, I perceived that the monument of my late uncle, Sir G. Madden,[40] had been removed from the place it formerly occupied, and was placed higher up and crowded by others, in order to gain space. It does not now look so well as before. I inquired of a man who seemed to be pew opener or something of that sort, what was to be done with the monuments, when the repairs were begun. His answer was, they would be put in a safe place, and afterwards restored to their original positions. I am very sceptical as to this, and the whole of the exterior walls of the edifice are in so miserable a condition, that when they begin to pull them down, I think that the result will be to rebuild the chapel entirely. I was informed that Archdeacon Wright[41] was the officiating clergyman and could give more information. He resides at Southsea, no. 2 Eastern Villas. We recrossed to Gosport at ½ past two and walked home. Shortly after three Clara Jackson arrived, escorted by one of the lady teachers, a very pretty person, named Carter, who remained a short time before she took leave. The little girl has very much improved since we saw her last. I was tired, and did not go out again, but read my French book.[42]

[*Sunday 2 September. Madden mainly concerned with details of the lease of 25 St Stephen's Square, Paddington, his proposed home after retirement.*
Monday 3 September. Visit from Charles Madden, with whom Frederic went to hear the band of the Royal Marines.
Tuesday 4 September. A wet and windy day but he walked round the Gosport fortifications.]

Wednesday 5 September
Rain and wind all the night, and likely to continue. In spite of the weather we walked into Gosport and crossed to Portsmouth. As the foul weather flag was flying, we had to pay double fares. Walked up to the top of the High Street, where I saw for the first time the new road opened in 1864 through the bastion facing the street.[43] Called at Newland's the photographers, but he had not been able to take the view of my father's house; I therefore left him my address in London. We thence walked up St Mary St to Portsea, and stopt at Pratt's old shop[44] to eat some buns. The sons of old Pratt 60 years ago were at Bishop's Waltham school with my brothers and one of them became a colonel in the Marines, when his brother was keeping the baker's and pastry cook's shop . . . We then passed down Queen St and by the Military Hospital[45] and St George's Square to the Gunwharf,[46] which the children had a desire to see. On entering my name we were taken by the policeman on duty (who told me he had formerly lived as servant with Capt. Frederick *Madan*, elder brother of the Trinity House) to the main building, where a guide received us and showed us the collection of arms and armour. There are many figures of the 16th & 17th centuries dressed in the military costume of the period, and a large assortment of arms of various dates and nations; some of which were of interest. The stand of rifles contains 20,000, all of which are to be converted to breech loaders. Among the numerous objects pointed out to our notice I was struck most by two, very dissimilar, but of much interest, a life-sized coloured bust of the Chinese monster Commissioner Yea, who boasted he had put to death 70,000 human beings,[47] and the court sword of Dr Johnson. How the latter came here or on what authority the guide could not tell us. I took it into my hand to examine. It was certainly a blade for show and not for warfare but the hilt was of brass and very different from the court swords of recent times. After we had completed the round of the building, we returned to the policeman who took us round the wharf and showed us the guns and shot, some of which are of vast calibre, particularly those used for the Whitworth guns. Altogether we were much pleased, and I willingly gave a shilling to each of our conductors. After this we went on to the Hard and walked to the end of the pier,[48] to see a steamer start, but the wind blew so hard that we soon returned. Thence back to Point and Gosport, and got home by three o'clock, very tired. More rain in the evening, and could not get out again . . .

[*Thursday 6 September. Visit to Southampton.*]

Friday 7 September
. . . After breakfast I walked with Arnold into Gosport and round the streets on the east side, passing by Trinity church, a large edifice with square windows, which gives it the appearance of a manufactory.[49] In the afternoon, as it continued fine, I crossed to Portsmouth with the children and walked to Southsea, up Wish Lane and round by Grove Road. The number and variety of detached villas the whole way is quite extraordinary to me, who recollect the whole area as fields and garden grounds. Back by the Kent Road and home. As this was our last evening here, we were busy packing.

Saturday 8 September
Heavy showers all the night and morning. At nine o'clock some of our party went in a fly and others walked through the rain to the Stoke Road station. The train came up from the Bay at 9.22 and we bade adieu to a locality which has been more or less familiar to me since I was a child. The rain never ceased till we reached London at ¼ past twelve. Fritz[50] came to luncheon but told us no news. The new P.L.[51] is on vacation at Henley and the brute P.[52] has been to France, and is now in his bed ill. D--- him!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I owe a special debt to Mrs Sarah Quail, Portsmouth City Records Officer, for inviting me to read the paper from which this publication has grown, and to Councillor John Marshall for suggesting its inclusion in this series. Mrs Quail and her colleagues greatly assisted me during its preparation, and remained courteous and cheerful despite my many demands on their time and patience. My thanks for assistance are also due to the staffs of the Portsmouth Central Library, Portsmouth City Museums, Hampshire Record Office, Bodleian Library, and British Library. Mr A. J. Marsh very kindly put his Ubsdell file at my disposal, and Dr Patricia Haskell and Dr James Thomas read and commented on the completed text with their usual thoroughness. Finally, for permission to reproduce or quote from items in their possession, I am indebted to the Bodleian Library (the Madden journals and photograph of a specimen page), the National Portrait Gallery (cover portrait), and the British Library (Madden MSS. and other records).

NOTE ON THE AUTHOR
John Webb was formerly a principal lecturer in the School of Educational Studies at Portsmouth Polytechnic. He is the author of *Portsmouth Papers* on the siege of Portsmouth in 1642 (no. 7), the early Victorian High Street (no. 26) and Portsmouth Free Mart Fair 1800–47 (no. 35), and he was joint editor of *Hampshire Studies* (1981), to which he contributed an account of Sir Frederic Madden's early days in Portsmouth and his friendship with Lake Allen. He has also written a short illustrated history and guide, *The City of Portsmouth and the Royal Navy* (1984), and is co-author of a forthcoming full-scale thematic history of the city. Other publications include the biography of an early Tudor merchant and a volume of 16th century documents which he edited for the Suffolk Records Society.

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1 Bod.L, MS. Eng. hist. *c.* 179, pp. 237–51.
2 Formerly situated near the modern *White Hart* public house and renamed Gosport Road Station in November 1866. It was closed to public traffic in 1915.
3 Major George Edward Owen Jackson, R.M., was the younger son of Rear-Admiral Samuel Jackson (1775–1845) and his wife, Clarissa Harriet, Sir Frederic Madden's sister. At the time he was attached to HMS *Duke of Wellington* (see below, n. 12). On 8 June 1867 he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel.
4 One-horse hackney carriage.
5 Before demolition Stoke House was situated just off the Stoke Road in modern Shaftesbury Road.
6 'Lady Fan', his pet Blenheim spaniel.
7 Operated between Gosport and Portsmouth Point, 1840–1959.
8 Point Battery Barracks, built 1847 between the sea-wall and Broad Street, adjoining the Round Tower.
9 The medieval Domus Dei, which later became part of Government House (demolished 1826) and was used as the garrison chapel from the 18th century. It was restored 1866–8 but seriously damaged by incendiary bombs in 1941.
10 At 46 High Street.
11 'E.' was Emily, Sir Frederic's second wife, and 'E.M.' their daughter Emily Mary.
12 HMS *Victory* ended her sea-going service in 1812 and remained afloat in Portsmouth Harbour until 1922. HMS *Duke of Wellington* (until 1852 known as HMS *Windsor Castle*) was flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier (see below, n. 28) at the bombardment of Bomarsund in the Crimean War. Later she became a holding (or depot) ship at Portsmouth.
13 At 116 High Street.
14 Sir Frederic's brother, who died in 1863.
15 Fanny Hill, 91 High Street.
16 The section of modern Pembroke Road between Penny Street and King William's gate, beyond which lay the broad belt of outer fortifications and Southsea Common.
17 The *Pier Hotel*, now Rees Hall, Portsmouth Polytechnic, was built in 1865. The row of houses is probably the adjacent Southsea Terrace, which dates from the same period.
18 The 'Little Morass', a marshy area to the east of Portsmouth's fortifications which was drained and levelled *c.*1835.
19 The King's Rooms and Baths were on a site near the present Clarence Pier. They were extensively developed by Henry Hollingsworth in the 1820s, but by the time of Madden's visit had lost their popularity and becoming derelict.
20 Erected on the sea-front near the Clarence Pier in 1850 by the Lt-Governor, Lord Frederick Fitzclarence. They soon deteriorated, were vandalized, and eventually mysteriously disappeared.
21 The anchor from HMS *Victory*, now on Clarence Esplanade, was previously on King's Bastion.
22 The guns have gone but the monuments still remain. They had all been erected in the decade before Madden's visit.
23 On the corner of Osborne Road and Western Parade (at that time known as Castle Road).
24 This was probably the boarding school run in 1859 by Miss M. L. Moore, but positive identification has not been possible.
25 In Waverley Road, Southsea, built 1864–6.
26 The present Portsmouth and Southsea Station in Commercial Road. The original building, opened 1847, was a modest affair. Rebuilding took place in the 1860's.
27 The *Sussex Hotel*, situated on the corner of Russell Street and Greetham Street before the redevelopment of Guildhall Square.
28 Originally at the junction of Commercial and Edinburgh roads and now in Victoria Park, Portsmouth. Erected in memory of 'Black Charley', Admiral Sir Charles Napier (1786–1860).
29 The bridge from the Camber quay to East Street on Point, removed 1924. The *Bridge Tavern* remains near its site.
30 At 81 High Street, opposite Grand Parade.
31 Portsmouth and Portsea Literary and Philosophical Society, with headquarters in Highbury Street, was disbanded in 1860 and the contents of the museum and library dispersed. Thomas Caine was a bookseller at 54 Wish *Street* (King's Road), Southsea.
32 Produced by W. Donaldson at 66 High Street and bought out by the *Hampshire Telegraph* in 1802.
33 Thomas Batchelor, bookseller, 98 High Street, Portsmouth.
34 These included Louisa, an infant, died 5 May 1804, and William Powell, aged 16, died 15 December 1808.
35 Painted glass by Edwards of Winchester was inserted *c.* 1828. The modern glass is by Christopher Webb. The Buckingham monument stood behind the altar until 1828 and was transferred to its present position in 1843.
36 The closure was only temporary. It was destroyed in an air raid in 1941, and George Court now occupies the site.
37 The shop was 39 High Street, occupied in 1874–5 by Mrs E. Symonds, photographer. The view of Southsea was probably the well-known lithograph by A. Pernet.
38 Erected 1828 and still a feature of the castle.
39 This was 77 High Street, occupied in 1859 by William Day, confectioner.
40 Major-General Sir George Allan Madden (1771–1828), a distinguished Peninsular War veteran.
41 For Archdeacon Wright and his correspondence with Madden see above, pp. 17–18.
42 *Paul et son chien* by Paul de Koch, which Madden had earlier (p. 239) described as 'amusing enough but not particularly moral'.
43 The modern Cambridge Road, from the Burnaby Road junction to the High Street, opened by the Duke of Cambridge on 17 October 1864, which had been built to give a better route into Old Portsmouth. Previously the road had passed through the Landport Gate.
44 About this time there were two bakers of this name in Portsea, one at 75 Queen Street, and the other in Cross Street.
45 In Lion Terrace, Portsea.
46 The Old Gunwharf, the site of which is now occupied by HMS *Vernon*.
47 Yeh Ming-Chen (1807–59) was said to have organized a reign of terror in Canton and its provinces after a rising there and to have killed 70,000 rebels in the first six months of 1855.
48 The Royal Albert Pier, opened 1846.
49 On Trinity Green. Built 1696, enlarged 1734 and *c.* 1835. It has one of the finest Classical interiors in the area.
50 The Maddens' eldest son, Frederic William (1839–1904). His wife, Elizabeth Sarah, was a daughter of John Rannie of Portsmouth.
51 Principal Librarian of the British Museum (John Winter Jones).
52 Antonio Panizzi.

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